

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

No.3
October 25th

I Vol. 1921

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Franco-Polish Imperialism.

Charles Rappoport (Paris).

French and Polish imperialism are securely bound one to another. The common position of both countries is the determining factor in this alliance. Both France and Poland are in the hands of nationalist and militarist reaction which exist upon war and will die in war. In neither country are the industrial capitalists at the helm. In France the power is in the hands of a parasitic, plunder-greedy capitalism, the capitalism of great national loans, of colonial adventures and limitless conquests. In Poland, on the other hand, there prevails a blind, megalomaniac nationalism and bitter hatred of Soviet Russia.

France has its own viewpoints, its own particular egotisms. To France, Poland means a substitute for Czarism, whose fall it still bewails in bitter tears, as it mourns its milliards lost for ever in its Russian loans. Poland is to constitute the second claw of the pincers that is to choke Germany to death. Furthermore, it is to serve against Soviet Russia as a gendarme and perpetual disturber of the peace. Finally, it is to preserve France from isolation and guarantee its safety.

France entertains two dominating fears, two serious misgivings. It distrusts the victory which has been characterised by its father, Clemenceau, as a "Pyrrhic Victory". And it distrusts its great "friend and ally", England. France realises that, in spite of all nice words to the contrary, it was defeated in the last war. It recognizes that 25 countries, five continents and America's warships and billions were necessary to save it from defeat. It perceives the steady diminution of its population. In 1919, a year of peace, it could record the trifling increase of 300 000 in the number of deaths.

As far as the "Entente cordiale" is concerned, it is now only a memory, a diplomatic formula. Scarcely a week passes by without a new disagreement with England arising. The treaty of alliance which was promised during the Versailles conference in order to divert the aspirations of the militarists from the Rhine has fallen through. Lloyd George was more cunning and cautious than Clemenceau. He had set one condition as the price of the conclusion of the alliance: ratification by the United States. As the latter carefully withdrew from the European wasps'-nest, Lloyd was able to retract his promise.

Official France has literally lost its head. It has decided to purchase an ally: Poland. M. Millerand is to-day President of the French Republic only because he made people believe that it was his military and financial assistance that stopped the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw. In their incapacity to pursue a policy based on the common interests of the working-classes of all nations the reactionaries are blindly, ignorantly and conceitedly clinging to the fictitious greatness of Poland and drag the actual economic corpse of that country with them in order to save themselves.

The war industries of France are working uninterruptedly for Poland and Roumania, which is considered merely as an auxiliary of Poland. They are deliberately taking the chance of falling out with England over Upper Silesia. Germany is left completely ruined and absolutely unable to pay the milliards which are

counted upon to save France from bankruptcy, which in reality, if not legally, is already consummated. And all that for the sake of Poland's enlistment. Gribouille Pell-mell is the director of France's foreign policy. In other words, France is ruining itself in order to be protected against the German danger.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the reaction in France greeted the war as a means to the re-establishment of their rule—the rule of the church and the landowners. They dreamt of a complete victory, of a collapse of the republic. This dream has been only half realized. It has suppressed the republicans turned nationalist more than ever; it has emptied the republic of its republican content; it has resumed diplomatic relations with the Vatican. It has not subverted the officialdom of the republic, however. The latter, in order to hold their positions, have abandoned their convictions. The reactionary ideas have conquered but their supporters stand outside the door, unsatisfied and unfed.

There is also a predestined psychological relation between French and Polish imperialism. It is their common romantic, sentimental character. The German, English, American and Japanese imperialism is realistic and practical—it knows how to translate itself into silver and gold coin. The French and Polish imperialism has this particular attribute—it ruins its country without yielding it anything but grievous burdens and privations.

That is imperialism on credit, the imperialism of the dazzlingly splendid beggar, who, in order to glitter in society in gala dress, at home lives on bread and water. They are poor fools, hiring fulldress clothes, borrowing tableware from the neighbors, giving elaborate balls, thus going bankrupt. Before the war France was the banker of the world. To-day it is more and more the world beggar. Instead of rebuilding its ruins, it is piling new ones thereon. It is spending five and six times as much for its army as before the war, not counting the war expenditures in Africa and Asia and leaving out of the account the sums that it is pouring into the Danaid sieve—Poland.

France believes that thru its alliance with Poland it will be able to destroy Soviet Russia. The exact opposite will occur. The monarchist republic of MM. Millerand, Briand, Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet will be annihilated. It is not the voice of healthy human reason, as Voltaire defined it, that is the decisive factor on the Qai d'Orsay (Foreign Office). It is the voice of Dmosky, Hervé, Bourtzeff, the standard-bearers of the Russo-Polish White Guards that is headed by Philip Berthelot, the evil genius of French foreign policy, the lackey of reactionary high finance. This policy has gone bankrupt, just as the Chinese Industrial Bank, which he and his brother directed.

Is the heir of the French Revolution, the French proletariat, ready to take possession of its heritage? We will discuss this question in our next article.

Jugoslavia and Albania.

By J. C. (Zagreb).

In connection with the assembly of the League of Nations, Albania—small, mountainous, still in the stage of patriarchal clan organization—has projected itself into the domain of world politics. At the same time bloody conflicts have developed on the Albanian-Jugoslavian frontier. And since the rulers of the world in Geneva have also demonstrated in the Albanian question that, because of the conflict of their imperialistic interests, they are unable to establish international peace, the danger of a new war in the Balkans has drawn perceptibly nearer.

As is well known, Albania is one of the most primitive countries in Europe. Not only because the Albanians are divided into tribes—in Albania there still exists the custom of vendetta, according to which each member of the clan is bound to revenge the death of another member in blood. This primitive, but honest and unspoiled folk inhabit a land very rich in completely unexplored and unexploited mineral and oil wealth. It is a region of colonial expansion for Italy and Yugoslavia.

Jugoslavia, which has no other region for expansion available, has as its goal the cessation of the existence of Albania as an independent state, the occupation of Southern Albania by Greece, and Northern Albania by Yugoslavia, although the present Yugoslavian part of Macedonia is already inhabited by 400,000 Albanians. However, since the Yugoslavian officials in Macedonia are practising a most brutal policy of the colonial uprooting of the Albanians, in which the entire Albanian population, including women and children, is being massacred wholesale and Albanian villages plundered and put to the torch, as a result of which thousands of Albanians have fled to the mountains, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Albanians are not friendly disposed toward the bloody regime of the White Terror in Yugoslavia and that open war may at any time break out between Albania and Yugoslavia.

While Austria-Hungary, in 1913, had set about the establishment of an apparently independent Albania in order to block the Serbs' path to the sea, at present Italy is attempting to hinder the occupation of Albania by Yugoslavia at any price. Among the various political and economic differences between Italy and Yugoslavia on the Adriatic and in the Balkans Albania has become the most important point at issue between the two powers. Italy desires to maintain the apparent independence of Albania, but at the same time exercise a protectorate over the land, in order in this manner to establish a base on the southeast coast of the Adriatic and in the Balkans and to exploit the as yet untouched mineral wealth. Since Italy is a member of the Great and therefore an immediate supervisor of the Little Entente and since it can as an imperialist great power give England and France a free hand in Asia Minor in order to obtain a protectorate over Albania, it has in this ambition obtained a much greater measure of success than Yugoslavia. Italy also desires that Albania retain the frontiers that were established by Italy and Austria-Hungary at the London conference in 1913 after the Balkan war, in order to drive Yugoslavia from the so-called demarcation line occupied by the Yugoslavian troops after the collapse of the Central Powers, which cuts deeply into Albanian territory. For the accomplishment of this purpose Italy lent Albania partial assistance and supplied the Albanian troops with arms and ammunition, so that the latter were able to drive the Yugoslavian troops back to the 1913 line and thus create a "fait accompli". This attack took place at the end of last month and thus ensued the state of war.

The Yugoslavians wanted to convince the League of Nations that Albania is an "impossible" nation, that the northern tribes are unfriendly to the Tirana government and that because of that civil war is now going on in Albania. Therefore Yugoslavia near the end of last month organized an uprising of the Albanian northern, catholic, and culturally most backward tribe, the Miridites, which it had been exploiting against the government in Tirana for a long time. But this enterprise ended in a manner very inconvenient to Yugoslavia. As the bloody chaos began again on the Albanian frontier, the Miridites turned against Yugoslavia and even attempted to organize an uprising of the catholic Albanians who inhabit the Yugoslavian territory.

Considering all these circumstances, we have the following situation in the Albanian-Yugoslavian frontier district: The Yugoslavian government has sent troops to the Albanian frontier and decided that, if necessary, three classes are to be mobilised. Both of these measures are apt to cause a considerable amount of dissatisfaction in Macedonia, (which without these latest events is in a state of discontent,) among the non-Serbian nationalities, the Turks, Bulgars and Albanians. The last uprising of the Mohammedans in Sandzak, repressed with the aid of mountain artillery, and the frightful acts of violence perpetrated by the Yugoslavian officials and soldiery have excited the Mohammedan elements to the greatest degree. The barbarous, bloody regime in Macedonia is adding more and more to the rebellious spirit. Official reports have already been received telling of Albanian uprisings behind the Yugoslavian troops. After all this it is clear that in case of an actual war between Yugoslavia and Albania, a general uprising in Macedonia is not out of the question.

This, furthermore, together with interior political occurrences, is undermining the foundations of the present White Terror regime in Yugoslavia, which according to all appearances is already approaching its end. And while the bourgeois opposition bloc

demands an understanding with the Albanians as the only way out of the situation the most intransigent elements of the White Terror government bloc, with the militarist clique behind them, are thinking of the formation of a military government, based on the slogan, "The Fatherland is in danger!", which shall rescue the white guard bloc from its perilous position.

ECONOMICS

The Employers' Offensive in Germany Paving the Way for Stinnes.

By Pelle.

At the present time Germany is shaken by great economic movements in the working-class. Strikes and lockouts are flaring up in all parts of the country, in the metal industry, in the wood-working industry, in the building and printing trades—there is scarcely a branch of industry which has not been affected by the strike wave. This is not the first convulsion that Germany has lived through. What, however, distinguishes the present strike and lockout movement from all those which have preceded it is firstly, the vehemence and tenacity of the contending parties, and secondly, the entire nature of the movement on the whole.

In July and August the foreign exchange value of the German mark showed a rising tendency. The employers took advantage of this tendency to lower wages and salaries. They met however with an unexpected resistance on the part of the workers and salaried employees. In the meantime, through the fall of the mark and the resulting depreciation in the value of money, the actual wage also sank, so that in reality in this manner a wage reduction was effected anyhow. Thenceforth the employers put less importance upon the reduction of wages and concentrated their efforts upon intensifying the exploitation of labor. They began a general campaign against the eight-hour day, and introduced piece work, bonuses, etc. The reply of the working-class was: The demand of a wage increase corresponding to the progressive depreciation of money.

Two waves can be distinguished in the movement at present, which will, without doubt, be followed by a third, greater and more powerful. In the beginning it was only a question of small local conflicts, in the majority of cases merely concerning wage demands. Immediately the entire employing class joined forces and was able in many instances to defeat the small bodies of workers and force them to return to work.

Then the employers attacked along the whole line. At first they felt their way. Minor impairments of the working conditions, trickery against the trusted representatives of the workers, attempts to introduce bonuses and piece work—these were the first provocations of the working-class. Wherever the workers defended themselves against these hostile manoeuvres they were ruthlessly locked out. The lockouts in the chemical industry, in the ship-yards and in the Thuringian metal industry were the first steps. They ended with a complete defeat of the workers and salaried employees. They were overcome because the trade-union leaders exerted all their power to prevent the strike from spreading, to "localize" it. Left in the lurch by the rest of the working-class the advance guards were defeated in the various regions by the solid front of the employers—they had no choice but to swallow the conditions of the exploiters.

Through its defeat of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie obtained new courage which was even more strengthened by the actions of the government. The desires of the employers are to be embodied in laws. The government has published drafts of laws to this end, which set aside the eight-hour day, take from the proletariat the right to strike and to combine, repeal the Sunday rest guaranteed by law, degrade the trade-unions to government mutual aid societies and abolish national and city unemployment insurance. Even before the government bills have become law the employers are putting into practice all that the bills contain. In various industries, for example, the chemical, iron industries, etc., they are violating the eight-hour day by the introduction of a 56 hour week; in fact, in the big industrial firms, Thyssen and Mannesmann, the 60 hour week has been introduced. As the working-class reacts but little to these measures, the employers are openly disclosing their goal. In the organs of "Big Business", propaganda is being made for the taking over of national and municipal enterprises by private industry. Even government officials in the National Ministry of Transport are advocating this step. While the ground is being thus economically

prepared for the Stinnes Scheidemann government, a correspondent of "Le Temps" has interviewed Stinnes who openly stated his program to be "Abandonment of the marxist-socialist experiment", (read: retrogression in working conditions) "Economies in the public services" (read: Stinnesation of the railways, the post-office and municipal utilities, the discharge of hundreds of thousands of workers and employees, the introduction of the ten-hour day, etc.), and finally the celebrated "Strong hand" (read: militarisation of Germany).

The working-class still contemplates this systematic employer offensive passively. It does not yet recognise the threatening dangers, because these measures are introduced by the employers and the state one at a time, and because this entire economic development is taking place under cover of a great nationalist tom-tom over Upper Silesia. While the proletariat is intoxicated over the Upper Silesian squabble, the employing class in the economic field is binding the chains of slavery more tightly about the body of the workers.

After all this the impression arises that the German proletariat is completely apathetic and submissive to its enemies. However that is only a superficial phenomenon. In reality there is a growing ferment in the ranks of organized labor, even if an unconscious agitation, without direction or purpose. Firstly, this fermentation is the result of the bankruptcy of all illusions as to democracy and the policy of class co-operation. Secondly, it is the outcome of the terrible pressure which low wages, direct and indirect taxes, etc., exercise on the living standard of the proletariat. In addition there is the feeling of dark uncertainty concerning coming events. In the same degree that the above-mentioned factors in the discontent of the broad masses increase, will the agitation take definite shape. The third wave of the strike movement is already announcing itself. The railway workers of Central Germany have almost unanimously voted for a defensive strike against the attack on working conditions and, the eight-hour day and for the further nationalization of transport. The trade-union bureaucrats were only able to postpone the strike for a while by the exertion of their utmost efforts. This at once clearly shows the character of the next strike wave. At first merely wage conflicts, it will more and more take the form of a struggle for the maintenance of the right acquired by the proletariat up to now. The growing depreciation of currency and the new enormous taxes will only intensify and increase the extent of these struggles.

The situation in Germany to-day is, in short, the following. With the assistance of the Mensheviks and the trade-union leaders the bourgeoisie has been able to establish itself politically firmly and to get the control of the state again in its own hands. Now the bourgeoisie is attempting to establish itself in the economic field as well. In the interior, we see attacks on the eight-hour day, reduction of wages, provocation of the workers and employees, attacks on the right of coalition, in short, an enormous lowering of the standard working conditions. On an international scale, the bourgeoisie is seeking economic ties with France and England for the common exploitation of the German working-class (see the Wiesbaden agreement and the trade agreement with England). Thus the future is showing itself to the German working-class clearer and clearer. The trade-union leaders are still trying with all their influence to dam up the fermentation in the German working-class. Their press is full of bitter attacks upon all revolutionaries and especially against Soviet Russia. At first their inciting was successful. That is the cause of the present condition of fermentation without either goal or direction. In the meanwhile, circumstances will become stronger than all lies and denials and will drive the proletariat, to the step from which it still shrinks: the revolutionary class-struggle.

Taxation Problems in Russia.

By F. Preobraschenski.

The introduction of a new railway tariff has caused a considerable amount of dissatisfaction in the working-class. At present this dissatisfaction has to some extent subsided but labour's attitude toward this measure is still a hostile one, which clearly demonstrates how little our taxation policy is understood by the proletariat. The introduction of the tax on industry met with no such opposition. However, the fact that it is obtaining no energetic support from and is scarcely understood by the working-class again shows how little the proletariat as a class comprehends its advantages.

Two objections are raised against the new industry tax. Firstly, its defective wording and an entire series of mistakes in its appli-

cation are pointed out; errors that had to be rectified after it had been in force for some time—for example, the numerous changes in the railway fares. These objections are justified and we must draw the following conclusions therefrom: every decree on the introduction of new taxes must be carefully considered beforehand. It would be even better if all such proposals should first be published and discussed for a time before they become laws.

The other objectors maintain that the introduction of taxation has few or no advantages. The taxes are shifted upon the wages of the workers and employees, since the merchants exploit the working-class by a corresponding rise in the price of necessities, so that the State is compelled to replace what the working-class loses out of its own pocket. In the last analysis the transportation charges are paid, not by the retailer who has paid for the transport of his potatoes according to the new rates and immediately raises the retail price of potatoes, but by the workers who buy the potatoes at the higher price. The State is forced to equalize this depreciation of the actual wage by an increase in wages and the result is that what is gained in one department (Railway revenue) is lost in the other (the Factory Administration, which pays out wages and salaries).

Those raising these objections have either reasoned falsely or else are simply stupid. For in reality taking for granted that in Moscow the monthly revenue from the increase in fares, the industrial and other taxes are 30 milliard roubles, that the merchants, artisans and others shift the taxes on the consumers by increasing prices—who, then, are these consumers? On the one hand workers and clerical employees, on the other hand, however, the artisans, peasants, dealers and speculators, the remains of the bourgeoisie, in short, the petty-bourgeois elements. Assuming that half the taxes will be shifted to the shoulders of the working-class and the other half upon the non-proletarians, what is the result? The half, i. e., 15 milliards, that fall on the shoulders of the working-class must be replaced by the Soviet government; the other half, however, represents the net revenue of the government. The Soviet government is not in the least concerned as to how the bourgeois elements shift this burden from one group to the other. Its task is only the following: approximately ascertaining in what degree the taxes burden the workers and clerical employees and raising their wages to correspond. When we consider that the workers are a minority of the consumers in the entire population, we find that the net revenue greatly exceeds the sum that the State has to repay to the working-class.

The work of the Soviet government in the near future will consist of a further systematic increase in taxation—especially upon luxuries and retail enterprises (delicatessens in the Tverskaia) that cater exclusively to the needs of the bourgeoisie. The working-class, whose indignation is aroused at the sight of all these cafés, florists and confectioners, as well as by the enormous profits of the traders and speculators, must support the government's taxation policy with all the means in its power. For if we permitted unrestricted trade and no one even thinks of abolishing it—we still are able to keep the profits of the traders and speculators in the entire country down to a minimum. This power is exercised in an unfeeling taxation of all non-State enterprises and in the privileges extended to the working part of the population. The working-class can but greet each new tax. It must see to it that the government replaces the losses that arise from the resulting increase of prices. In its turn, the Soviet government considers this compensation as its primary duty.

In no way do we overestimate the rôle of these taxes in our budget, but anyone who will take the trouble to make the necessary calculations will come to the conclusion that, in the coming year, we will be able to cover 10 % of the revenue that we are at present deriving from the issue of paper money. That means that, in our attempt to establish a firm foreign exchange, we will be able by means of taxation, either to reduce the emission of notes by 10 % or increase our expenditures for production by the same amount.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Destitution in Czecho-Slovakia and Communist Work in the Trade Unions.

By F. Kunte (Prague).

The revolutionizing of the working-class of Czecho-Slovakia which has been going on for some time with incredible rapidity reflects the lowering of the living-standard of the workers of this

"victorious nation", their return to consciousness after the national intoxication and after the vanishing of their blind faith in the country's new leaders.

If we compare the pre-war standard of living of the workers in this land with that of the present, we obtain the following picture.

According to the collective agreements, the basic wage per hour was in hellers as follows:

	June 1914	Feb. 1921	increase per cent
MASONS			
First year after apprenticeship	43	340	691
Second year after apprenticeship	53	400	655
More experienced masons	58	500	762
After two years' employment	63	550	773
Facade workers	77	650	745
UNSKILLED BUILDING WORKERS			
Under 17 years	24	230	858
Over 17 years	39	320	821
Women	27	280	1037
BRICKYARD WORKERS			
Men	31	400	1190
Youths	20	300	1400
Women	16	260	1524
JOINERS			
First year after apprenticeship	32	250	688
Fourth year after apprenticeship	44	470	854
Skilled artisans	48	500	917
CARPENTERS			
First year	51	500	782
Second year	58	570	796
More experienced	63	700	931
STONE-CUTTERS			
First year after apprenticeship	45	375	733
More experienced	50	600	1100
Polishers	45	540	1100
STOVE-FITTERS			
3rd (highest-paid group)	66	650	884
VARNISHERS	57	450	689
MACHINISTS	36	260	622
INSTALLATION WORKERS	56	390	596
PLUMBERS	44	280	536

According to these figures, (established at the time of the March lockout), the wage-increases in the building trades vary between 400 and 1,100 per cent. Now for the increase in the cost of food and other necessities of life. The following table furnishes data thereon:

Article	Unit	Price in		Yearly Requirements 1 person	Cost of this quantity		Increase %
		June 14	Feb. 21		June 14	Feb. 21	
Suit	one	60,00	1275,00	one	60,00	1275,00	2025
Man's shoes	1 pair	16,00	290,00	2 pair & repairs	32,00	580,00	1712
Man's shirt	one	2,50	110,00	2	5,00	220,00	4300
Man's hat	one	6,00	110,00	1	5,00	110,00	1733
Wheat flour	1 kg	0,48	3,20	40 kg	19,20	128,00	566
Bread	1 loaf	0,50	2,50	52 loaves	26,00	130,00	400
Pork	1 kg	2,00	24,00	26 kg	52,00	624,00	1100
Beef	"	1,85	22,00	26 "	48,10	572,00	1091
Potatoes	"	0,10	1,40	101 "	10,40	145,60	1300
Lard	"	2,04	40,00	18 "	36,72	720,00	1867
Butter	"	3,90	48,00	13 "	50,70	624,00	1135
Eggs	one	0,08	1,30	80	6,40	104,00	1525
Rice	1 kg	0,48	8,50	12 kg	5,76	102,00	1670
Peas	"	0,48	5,20	12 "	5,76	62,40	983
Milk	1 liter	0,30	4,00	52 liters	15,60	208,00	1233
Coffee	1 kg	4,00	52,00	6 kg	24,00	312,00	1200
Sugar	"	0,84	8,18	15 "	12,60	122,70	873
Beer	1 liter	0,28	2,50	100 liters	28,00	250,00	792
Anthracite	1 quintal	3,14	54,00	6 quintals	18,84	324,00	1610
Brown coal	"	2,12	32,00	6 "	12,72	192,00	1409
Petroleum	1 liter	0,47	8,00	30 liters	14,10	240,00	1602
Soap	1 kg	0,72	25,00	12 kg	8,64	300,00	3372
Rent	—	150,00	195,00	—	150,00	195,00	30

Average increase { including rent . . . 1373%
 { not including rent . . . 1062%

Thus it can be seen that wages have not nearly increased as much as the cost of living. Even if we consider the matter from the petty-bourgeois standpoint and regard the worker's position in 1914 as "normal", this level has not been attained. We are fully justified in speaking of a pauperization in this connection. This pauperization becomes even more apparent when it is realized that in the early part of 1921 the average weekly wage, according to official statements, of a textile worker was 145 kronen, of a brewery worker was 180 kronen, and of a building or wood worker was 215 kronen.

Daily experience is teaching the worker how correct the communist theories of the further development of capitalism and how false the illusions of reformism are. But wherever the worker begins a struggle against pauperization the leaders of his trade-union leave him in the lurch. That is the reason for the giant strides the communist movement is making in its penetration of the trade-unions, and especially so in Czecho-Slovakia. The calm, tenacious work of our Czecho-Slovakian comrades has succeeded in obtaining the leadership of several large unions—the *Agricultural Workers' Union*, the *Chemical Workers' Union* and the *Building and Wood Workers' Union*—not by means of strategic manoeuvres but simply by winning the confidence of the workers. All these unions remain in the Trade-Union Commission in Prague. The decision as to the direction which the Czecho-Slovakian trade-union movement shall follow will be made by the *general Trade-Union Congress* at the end of the year. The result of the provincial conference of the Moravian trade-unions was a good omen for the outcome of this congress. At this conference Tayerle, a member of the Amsterdam secretariat, suffered a disgraceful defeat, the resolutions of the communists receiving 468 votes against 2. These resolutions declare for adherence to Moscow and demand the uniting of all workers in Czecho-Slovakia without national or trade distinction into one all-embracing powerful union with various trade sections. All trade-union conflicts are to be carried on not from the individual trade standpoint but from the standpoint of the *class-struggle*.

The call for international unification is especially directed to the German workers, who are suffering the same general impoverishment, but who have a much more difficult struggle within their unions. From the beginning the struggle in the separatist German trade-unions, detached from the Czech unions, (the German unions have about 300,000 members, the central unions over 700,000 members), was more bitter and the German trade-union bureaucracy more unscrupulous than the Czech. Their entire powerful apparatus was put at the service of a campaign of lies against the communists, supported by the trade-union press having a circulation of hundreds of thousands of copies. Some few individuals had to take up arms against this hydra. Supported by a decision of the executive board, on April 6th there began a wholesale exclusion of communist officials in all the trade-unions, and in the Textile Workers' Union there occurred the expulsion of five locals with 10,000 members, who were forced to organize in a federation of all those workers exelled from the union. In those unions where the communists have a majority, as in the glass-workers' union, the bureaucracy is sabotaging the calling of the union convention. Even if we are not able to assert that in the German unions the communists and their sympathisers have a majority, nevertheless it can be said that wherever it was possible to carry on the work, firm points of support have been gained. Our tenacious work within the unions and the events and coming struggles in the Czech camp will take care of the future.

Giant struggles in the autumn are throwing their shadow before in Ostrau, the most important anthracite coal region in the republic. The coal barons are planning a 50 % cut in the wage scale. The metal workers of Central Bohemia are facing serious conflicts. In the Northern Bohemian textile industry new wage negotiations are taking place. The Moravian agricultural workers are threatening to strike because the new governmental food plan condemns them to immediate starvation. The railway workers are angrily demanding the fulfillment of old promises of improvements in their working conditions from the new Benesch bourgeois-social democratic coalition government. The Communist Party is everywhere pointing out to the workers the inner connection of all these conflicts and the necessity of conducting them as an international class-struggle. This counsel is so simple and illuminating that it finds instant response among the workers. In the struggle they will learn more clearly than ever to distinguish in the trade-unions between friend and foe, the fellow-combatants and the traitors Moscow and Amsterdam.

The First Congress of the German Independent General Federation of Employees.

En. The Allgemeine Freie Angestelltenbund (Afa)—Independent General Federation of Employees—held its first congress in Düsseldorf on the 2nd and 3rd of October. The Afa is the union of all the organizations of the so-called brain-workers (salesmen, clerical workers, foremen, technical officials, etc.) in Germany standing on "free" Trade-Union principles. Up to a short time ago these unions were a part of the Allgemeine Deutsche Gewerkschafts-Bund (General German Trade-Union Federation). The formal separation from the ADGB took place in April. The ground for this was the following: it would be easier for the employees' organizations to recruit new members among the brain-workers, still infused with bourgeois ideology, if they were separated from the manual workers' federation. The co-operation of the hand and brain workers was not to be at all affected by this measure.

To-day the Afa has 750,000 members, while in 1914 the brain workers' unions could show only 50,000 members altogether. This fact better than any other shows the spiritual transformation of the technicians and clerical workers, up to now the most faithful supporters of the exploiting class which has taken place in the last few years.

Under the constraint of circumstances, with the continual fall of their actual salaries, even the foremen and technicians had to realize that they could secure their existence not by harmony with Capital but only by the bitterest struggle against it. The factory officials to-day see in the manual workers their natural confederates, in the entrepreneurs, on the other hand, their enemy. Previously it was almost exactly the contrary; at any rate the employees considered themselves nearer to the capitalist than to the worker. Of course, the 750,000 membership is but a fraction of the millions of clerical workers, but the process of transformation is making steady progress, which is especially shown by the various votes of the clerical organizations. An ever increasing percentage is declaring for the free Trade-Union position.

Considered from this standpoint, we communists can but welcome this development as it gradually deprives the capitalists of their hitherto most important weapon against the working-class.

However, it must not be forgotten that this movement has also its reaction in that the reformist spirit in the German labor movement is strengthened. The clerical workers naturally do not change overnight from supporters of class harmony to stern fighters in the class-struggle. Rather they attempt to apply their previous way of thinking in the new organization. This appeared very clearly in the Düsseldorf congress. It was rather striking that in proletarian congress not only an extraordinarily large number of representatives of government and city bureaus but also delegates from bourgeois, i. e., anti-working-class parties were present as guests.

After a speech on purely organisational questions the reformist tendency became articulate in two lectures on labor laws and social insurance. In connection therewith the "right" socialist speakers Sinheimer and the former Prussian finance minister Lüdemann expressed opinions which had nothing in common with the class struggle. Lüdemann characterized the future line of development in the following words:

"The trade-unions to-day are no longer what they were in the past, fighting organizations against the State. They are no longer outspoken class-struggle organizations, but they are helping in the completion of our democratic system of government, they are collaborating in legislation and share responsibilities with the government."

Unfortunately there was little if any opposition in the congress to this crass recantation of the class-struggle. One can see that the communists have still an enormous task before them in the Afa. However, they have absolutely no reason to be pessimistic, since their best ally in the hard struggle for the revolutionizing of the German brain workers will be decaying capitalism itself.

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

Youth in its Present Struggle against Militarism.

by F. Fujovich.

"The last war" which the world bourgeoisie presented to the international proletariat, together with the promise of a new world and the rule of perfect democracy, is still going on; in

Asia and in Morocco blood is still flowing in rivers. An armed conflict between America and Japan also appears unavoidable. And in almost every country, the bourgeoisie, which had taken from the proletariat the few liberties it had left, has established a ruthless White Terror.

France has an enormous number of troops continually under arms. In Upper Silesia the conflict between Germany and Poland seems to be going on without any apparent prospect of an armistice. Poland and Roumania are secretly mobilising against Soviet Russia, and the other nations of the "Little Entente" seem to be ready to join this new adventure. In all the victorious countries the effective forces of the army are much greater than before the war; a certain dislike of the barracks is already noticeable.

These facts bind all the organizations of Communist Youth to most intensive activity in the field of anti-military propaganda, above all in the countries which still are at war or which maintain a large standing army. This propaganda must be pushed in the city and in the country districts, on the fighting line and in the garrisons in accordance with a carefully worked-out plan. The propaganda must be directed not only at the soldier, who at all times offers his life for the interests of the bourgeoisie, but all those who are related to him. Through it there should arise a general discontent, and the young soldiers should be clearly and convincingly given to understand that there exists only one means of destroying militarism—the world revolution. The world war has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the proletarian and peasant masses that they have nothing to gain by war. The enormous number of dead, wounded and crippled and the sufferings arising from the war must be strongly emphasized and the nonchalance of the government concerning those made incapable of earning their daily bread by injuries received in the war. The masses must be reminded of the devastation caused by the war, of all the horrors lived through, of the oppression of the rich, which has caused the ever-increasing misery of the working-class in the period after the war. Our first aim must be the bringing about of demoralisation in the army by every means in our power, then to try to win over the army to our point of view, by showing them that only the rule of world communism can bring about the final destruction of militarism and its attendant misery.

When, after the dissolution of the capitalist army, the last support of the world bourgeoisie, the communist party remains as the only organized force in the land, the poor peasants will be unavoidably drawn to the party.

In the anti-militarist propaganda among the peasant masses we must confine ourselves to the questions that interest them most, so that we shall be thoroughly understood by them, and make them hate and avoid military service. We must adapt the propaganda to the intellectual level of the people it is to reach and to their economic needs at the given moment. In the immediate future our goal must be first of all the discrediting of the bourgeoisie in their eyes, the pointing out of the insoluble contradiction between their interests and those of the capitalists, thus winning their sympathy, but we must avoid attempting to win the broad masses of the agricultural population for the ideas of pure Communism.

As far as the anti-militarist propaganda among the younger workers is concerned, it must emphasize the absolutely unavoidable necessity for the formation of a Red Army in order to be able to finally defeat the bourgeoisie, to make possible the revolutionary transformation and afterwards for the defence of the revolution. The ideas of a general disarmament and of eternal peace under democratic rule—these ideas so dear to the heart of the centrist and social-democratic youth—must be combatted with the great truth of the absolute impossibility of peace under capitalism.

The question of desertion comes up very often in our propaganda. In contradiction to the previous standpoint of the anti-militarist pacifists who praised it, we must condemn it in the sharpest terms, for it results in the movement being deprived of valuable material, since it compels the deserters to flee the country.

Our program is as follows: Enter the barracks, there be a communist before everything else, become a center of communist propaganda, and build a communist cell as soon as possible. These cells at first are to bring about confusion and disorder in the army, and at the moment when the town and land proletariat begin the armed uprising, they are to bring about the fraternization of the soldiers and the armed proletariat. The proletarian youth, the future soldiers of the Red Army, by means of suitable propaganda, are to be made clearly conscious of their task in the first hours of the struggle. The day when there will exist a World Red Army will mark the downfall of the world bourgeoisie; the victorious revolution will no longer need defence and then, but only then, all armies will cease to exist.

Moscow, September 23, 1921.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The National Conference of Communist Women in Czecho-Slovakia.

By C. K. K. Prague.

Last winter when the struggle concerning the 21 entrance conditions to the Third International was raging in the left wing of the Czech social-democratic party, the party executive, at that time already in its majority communist, considered it necessary to postpone the convention called for the month of May for two months, because they feared that, on account of the insufficient time available for propaganda and discussion the open and concealed centrists would be able to succeed in getting a large part of the doubtful elements to vote against the entrance conditions and thus cause a further split in the party. In the midst of this insufferable condition of uncertainty the Czech working-women, through their clear and decisive position created an entirely new situation. They called their own convention for the 12th and 13th of March in Prague, in which they characterized the entrance into the Third International and the formation of a communist mass-party as absolutely demanded by the interior and international situation and verbally declared:

"If there should occur a further postponement of entrance into the Third International, we are determined to call a special conference for the union of the Czech women's movement with the section of Communist Youth and the German Communist Party. Our place is by the side of our children, and our postponement of our immediate union with them is only due to the fact that we do not desire to violate the decision of the party executive, since this step would indicate a lack of confidence in those comrades who have been entrusted with the carrying out of that decision. We trust that we will not be compelled to take this step, since it would be a clear demonstration of the weakness and wanting courage of the men comrades. We are fully conscious of the consequences of the acceptance of the entrance conditions of the Third International and realize that we will have to undergo renewed persecution. Nevertheless we demand unconditional adherence to the Communist International."

• This resolution of the women in which they declare their decision to leave the Czech workers' party together with the youth and unite with the German communists rather than suffer a further postponement of the final decision was already at that time an historical act.

Therefore it is in accordance with a certain revolutionary tradition that now the women of Czecho-Slovakia have come together before the rest of the working-class and, fourteen days before the Unity Convention, have effected the union of all the national groups in their ranks. The National Congress of Communist Women which took place at Prague-Smichow on the 15th and 16th of October consisted of 75 Czecho-Slovakian and 30 German delegates. In the present stage of our movement's development, Czecho-Slovakian does not only mean Czech and Slovak, but Hungarian and Ruthenian as well and the only measures necessary were the union with the Germans and the Poles. The Czecho-Slovakian delegates represented about 100,000 and the German about 8,000 organized comrades. In the Czecho-Slovakian as well as in the German Communist Party, the women are about 20% of the total organized membership. When it is considered that the women are at least one-half of the population, and in view of the political equality of the sexes; however this percentage is of course somewhat small. It must not be lost sight of that in the old social-democratic party before 1918 the women were only 4% of the membership. Of course there never was as favorable a time for the awakening of class-consciousness among the women as the present. There are untold thousands of women and girls in Czecho-Slovakia who are in the most various ways objects of capitalist exploitation. The economic consequences of the break-down of capitalism are almost even more keenly felt by the female proletariat than by the male workers. Price increases and unemployment turn the life of the proletarian women into a living hell. But not the economic conditions alone are driving the working-women of Czecho-Slovakia into the communist camp. The complete incapacity of political democracy to deal with the especial needs of the proletarian woman have made the working-women realize how little they can expect from the other parties. Although suffrage was granted to the women in 1918 and all parties in Czecho-Slovakia have their women representatives in Parliament, the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament has not done anything for the particular needs of the working-woman.

The women are still waiting for the passage of a law guaranteeing motherhood protection for pregnant working women, hundreds of thousands of proletarian children are still delivered over to destruction within capitalist society. The complete bankruptcy of parliamentarism and the betrayal of the working-class by the social patriots have deeply shaken the belief of the women in political parties in general and made their organization extremely difficult. They fear that in after years someone will come to them and say, "What I preached to you during all this time was a lie. Even I do not believe it any more." They hate the social-democratic traitors and as a result of their suffering have voted revolutionarily, but regard anyone who desires to organize them with distrust. When we take these circumstances into consideration, the 20% percentage of women in the movement means a huge success, since it is relatively not less than four times the percentage of 1918, and in figures the number of organized women has increased thirtyfold. In the communist propaganda among the women the lectures on Soviet Russia have met with especial success, for women who in the land of the great humanist Masaryk are socially completely without rights and are delivered over to the public welfare, are influenced in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat by nothing so much as by the picturing of the enormous work which the Soviet government has accomplished for all children without distinction in the last three years. It can be thus understood why the women organized in the movement are among the most trustworthy and sacrificing members and are not only considered as comrades but as fellow-fighters by the side of the men, who are prepared to make any sacrifice for the liberation of the proletariat.

The fact that the question of the political and economic situation, which was treated by comrade Joskau of Reichenberg was put at the head of the order of business is an indication of the serious spirit of the conference. Comrade Knílové spoke on the International Women's Congress in Moscow, comrade Krenová on the tactics of the Communist Party and the women, comrade Houserová on the organic uniting of the national women's sections in Czecho-Slovakia and comrade Rosaková on the children groups. A large number of delegates took part in the debate and for the first time since the split in the old Austrian social-democracy speeches were delivered in various languages, without the sessions of the convention being disturbed in any way.

The congress was a forerunner of the Unity Congress and it was a good omen therefor, for it demonstrated that agreement on all organizational and tactical questions was possible without friction, in spite of the differences in language. There was one language which all participants knew — the language of revolutionary readiness for battle and revolutionary will to victory. The Prague government officials naturally were possessed of a somewhat conceivable fear of this language and sent two official representatives to the conference who were, however, promptly put out of the hall by the chairman. The Prague police were particularly interested in the guests at the conference and especially in comrade Baum of Berlin, but this interest could not disturb the conference in the least.

The newly elected executive board of the communist women, in which all nationalities are represented, faces very important tasks. No only the innumerable women of various occupations — the Slovak agricultural workers, the Prague house servants, and the Northern Bohemian industrial workers — but also the numberless housewives must be drawn into the ranks of the communist party as class-conscious fellow-combatants. We are confident that this executive will do all in its power to render itself worthy of and accomplish its great task.

HELP FOR RUSSIA

The Causes of the Russian Famine.

By Victor Serge (Petrograd).

They are numerous and complex. One must recall them however in order to ascertain those responsible and the consequences thereof. In a certain, but not over-important degree, they are characteristic of the Russia of the old régime which suffered almost periodic famines without the "civilized world" bothering to think about it. In four years of terrible revolutionary struggle the evil heritage of the old regime still exerted its nefarious influence upon the land. The ignorance of the peasants and their primitive methods would alone have sufficed to produce a veritable catastrophe in a year of drought. The extent of the calamity, however,

is not due only to these social and climatic conditions. We must direct our attention to some others.

1. *Before the war*—M. Charles Rivet (of "Le Temps") describes in a book which he has devoted to the last of the Czars and to Rasputin with what superior disdain the Ambassadors of the French Republic at St. Petersburg regarded the moujiks, that enormous reserve of cannon-food for war. . . . At the time when the readers of "Le Temps" were reading every morning that "the Cossacks were two days' march from Berlin", the Allies only counted on the Russian cannon-fodder to slow up the formidable war machine of the Central Powers. The figures of the Russian losses were enormous, so great that one scarcely sees war cripples in the cities and villages of Russia—they are dead. The number of bayonet attacks against the German artillery had not been multiplied without paying a fearful price in blood. The lives, the strength of the Russian fields were exhausted at last. As the destruction of transportation followed suit, as the war devoured an enormous number of horses torn from work in the fields, the death of the best, most vigorous men brought nearer the death of Russian soil. These are things which should be brought to mind from time to time.

2. *The blockade*—Why should one be surprised at the spectacle of thirty million Russian peasants starving to death? The Russian famine has been deliberately planned, planned and organized for years with all the resources of modern technology. The most noted statesmen of two worlds have several times deliberated thereon. French, English and Americans, in the luxury of the salons at Versailles, deliberately condemned the innumerable Russian people to famine. The entire press approved the decision—the parliaments, millions of bourgeois voters, all cultured, patriotic, humane, Christian people raised no protest. Those who saw the poor collapsing in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, in the winter of 1919, succumbing to gradual starvation, who have seen horses perishing in the snow in the streets of the Russian capitals every day, who remember the one-eighth of a pound of bread then distributed by the Communes to the workers, who have not forgotten that a European newspaper never entered Red Russia at that time—they know too well that the famine is the inexpiable crime of international reaction, inexpiable because committed with the fullest complacency and serenity of spirit.

An absurd crime. It has not killed the Russian Revolution. It was based on a false calculation. Revolutionists are always hungry! They know how to hold out against hunger. But the children are dead. The aged and weak are dead. The scientists, the poets—the entire helpless élite of humanity—are dead. And now they are organizing—sometimes with the assistance of intellectuals who made no protest against the blockade—relief for the survivors.

3. *The civil war* has raged over the provinces now devastated by the famine at least four times. Each time the armies of the reaction have pillaged the houses, destroyed the implements and murdered the men. It was in the Volga regions that the Czecho-slovaks, incited by the English and French military missions, took up arms in 1918 to cut off Russia from its grain supplies in the Urals and in Siberia and starve it into submission. There it was that Savinkov and the members of the Constituent Assembly established their White government with the aid of the Allies. It was there that Koltchak launched his new offensives on the eve of his recognition by France. With every advance of the counter-revolutionary armies the White Terror decimated the peasantry, the horizon was covered the flames of burning villages, the cattle were led away, the railways torn up and the bridges destroyed. . . . The "Daily Chronicle", "Le Journal" and the "New York Times" announced let us not forget it! these victories: "Admiral Kolichak has blown up two bridges on the Volga. . . ."

Everyone to-day knows in how large a degree the Russian counter-revolution was the direct crime of foreign capital. It is only too easy to name those responsible therefor.

4. *The conflict between the revolutionary city and the country still in its petty-bourgeois, religious and conservative mentality*: a conflict which certain elements of the counter-revolution have cleverly known how to turn to their own advantage, aided by the deplorable circumstances which compelled the Soviet government to make use of requisitions for the nourishment of its armies. The small insurrections in the Volga regions fomented by the Right Socialist Revolutionaries or by the clergy run into the hundreds. The conflict between the town proletariat and the peasant middle class, it may be stated, although it has profound economic and psychological causes, has been rendered acute by the war and by the blockade. The greater part of the excesses to which they led would have been easily avoided if the proletariat in the factories had been able to furnish the villages manufactured articles in exchange for the grain demanded. But the proletariat

was fighting on seven ilimitable fronts, the factories were shut down, and the counter revolution had seized our fuel supplies—Denikin, the Don and the English, Baku.

Then there are the secondary causes, which do not always bring us face to face with those responsible for the famine

5. *The exceedingly primitive agricultural implements and the ignorance of the Russian peasant.*

It will be easily realized that, if in 1918, that is, immediately after the victory of the workers in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, the European proletariat had compelled the reaction to respect and recognize the young revolution, then so enthusiastic and ready for the most herculean tasks, if a small part of the energy devoted to the carrying on of the war had been expended in the improvement of agricultural implements, in the creation of irrigation canals, in the education of the peasantry the drought would not have been able to destroy in a few weeks the crops of a region larger than France. . . .

If, under the present state of affairs, the drought has been able to devastate the most fertile regions of Russia, it is only because the scourge raged over a soil where war had destroyed the tools and the fruit of human labor, over a people, decimated, exhausted and discouraged by infinite affliction, over a land where seed, wagons, horses, and above all knowledge are lacking because a determined attempt had been made to destroy everything.

If the beautiful plains of the Volga, burnt by the sun, seem to have become a desert, it is due to the fact that for four years the entire capitalist world has not ceased to desire the death of the revolution, of this revolutionary people.

That must not be forgotten! The day after the end of the butchery perpetrated from 1914 to 1918, the rulers of the old world, the rich, committed this second crime against humanity—the blockade, the attempt to assassinate the Russian people. When the bourgeois philanthropists are stirred by the thought of the death of thousands of babies in the government of Saratov, when the scribblers who, in 1919, estimated the advantages of the blockade as an inexpensive, and, compared with military intervention, very sure method, speak of help for Russia, when Noulens is appointed to aid our starving peasants, let us not forget, comrades, to denounce the crime and to brand-mark the criminals. There still are battles to be fought; the help for Russia will inaugurate no armistice between the reaction which has starved us, and now pretends to come to our assistance in order to better accomplish its work of death, and the starved Revolution. The Russian famine is only a tragic episode of the international class-war. The American captains of industry who are sending to Petrograd and Moscow the humanitarian personnel of M. Hoover, followed by cargoes of rice and condensed milk—the same personnel whose relief for Hungary paved the way for the Horthy regime—do not doubt it. If they give at all, it is because the pressure of the masses and the troubled conscience of the mob compel them to do so; it is because they cannot do otherwise—and because they are waiting for a favorable turn of events to give the revolution a finishing blow. To watch over them, to combat them, to denounce them—for the revolutionary, that means, more than ever, helping Russia.

The Arrival of the Seed-Corn.

The well-known Russian publicist Bachveteff has pictured the arrival of the first shipment of seed in the Volga Province in the following words.

At first there were only vague rumors. A timid ray of hope went through the land. From village to village the rumor swelled like an avalanche. Somewhere seed was being collected. The first transport soon arrived in the Volga region. "Lenin himself" was in command of the troops that were to compel the satiated to help their hungering brothers. Everybody did not believe these rumors to the same degree, but they nevertheless began to prepare the fields. Soon the first refugees began to return to their home districts. Then the first shipments of rye arrived from the "fortunate regions". And everybody wondered. As if the child graves had suddenly disappeared, as if the limbs were no longer swollen with hunger typhus, as if the aged had ceased to spit blood,—the seed-corn was arriving. These words were more effective than the most inflammatory speeches. The people were again restlessly bustling about the abandoned, uncultivated fields. Old and young set themselves to the plough. Those who had sold their horse drew the plough themselves or worked with spades. For only those who had already ploughed their fields received seed-corn. The women who had lived on magic charms the entire period

were chased back to the villages. The belief in the coming of the Anti-Christ, which had found a large following, disappeared.

And the seed was actually arriving. It was being unloaded day and night, in the towns, at the railway stations. Never was work more willingly done than then. Railway and transport workers, many far advanced in years, competed with the Red Guards. Without complaining, half-starving, ragged men loaded millions of poods at the designated situations. Instead of doubt the infinite patience, the characteristic of the Russian peasant, again came to the surface. The corn-piles were carefully watched, but one did not need to employ one's own guards; the peasants are the best watchmen.

To steal the corn from Mother Earth,—that the peasant cannot do. The sacrilege would be too great. "It has been sent for her, not for us", says the peasant. And after! Even if the people die it doesn't matter; an empty field is worse than death.

The peasants are but now beginning to think of themselves, after the joy of the first seed has passed away, of inevitable death, of the children who would have been better never born.... However there is no more to be seen of the former panic in the villages of the Volga region. Hunger snatches away the children, swells the arms and legs of the adults and causes the teeth of the strongest youths to drop. The people are waiting however, calm and composed. They believe help is coming! And, feverish and with burning eyes, they listen to every report from the fortunate regions, from the places where they eat every day, where the people do not yet know the taste of grass, bark and wood-shavings.

Gifts for Russia's Hungary.

The Soviet government has received the following gifts from foreign governments, organizations and private individuals: 400,000 poods of meal, 20,000 barrels of herring, 128,000 poods of dried cod-fish, 200 poods of soap, 136,000 poods of various food products, 3000 suits and overcoats, one cargo of medical supplies and in addition medical supplies of a total value of 100,000 Norwegian kronen.

The contributed food is apportioned among the various countries as follows: America 122,000 poods and wagon-loads, England 54,000 poods, Germany 1,600 poods, Norway 120,000 poods and 20,000 barrels, Poland 60,000 poods, Finland 7,000 poods, Sweden 300 poods, Estonia 8,000 poods. The Russian Soviet government contributed 50,000 poods, the Norwegian 120,000 poods, the Persian 60,000 poods, the Estonian 6,600 poods, the ARA (American Relief Administration) 92,000 poods and 210 wagon-loads, the Lithuanian Red Cross one wagon-load, Swedish workers and artisans 300 poods and the London League for Children's Relief 36,000 poods.

The German relief bureau has sent a steamer with medicaments and medical supplies, the Norwegian government 100,000 kronen for the purchase of medical supplies and the Nansen Committee 3,000 suits and overcoats. Various firms and private individuals have donated 34 cases of shoes. The contributions in money were as follows: From English citizens through comrade Krassin, 120,000,000 Soviet roubles; from Estonia, 5,500,000 Estonian marks; from Finland, 10,000 Finnish marks; from Latvia, 400,000 Lettish marks; from Lithuania, 40,000 German marks; totaling a sum equal to 38,304 gold roubles.

OUR PROBLEMS

Otsovism.

By G. Zinoviev.

In the next number of the "Communist International" Comrade Zinoviev is publishing an essay on "The Tactics of the Communist International". We intend to publish several extracts from this article in the near future. The present passage is an explanation of the term "Otsovism", to which Comrade Lenin alluded in his open letter to the Jena Congress of the German Communist Party.

What was Otsovism in the Russian labor movement?

The comrades in other countries, who are now very well acquainted with the tendency characterised as Menshevism, should also get to know the other tendency known as Otsovism. In the period of the worst counter-revolution in Russia, in 1908, the group of the extreme "left", who accused the Bolsheviks of

opportunism and demanded the recall of the members of the social-democratic fraction in the Imperial Duma, split away from the Bolsheviks. (The word "Otsovism" comes from the Russian for recall—"Otsyv"). Even before that the "left" communist group had propagated the boycott of the elections for the Third Duma being of the opinion that participation in the elections to such a Duma meant treason to the working class. The foreign "left" comrades sometimes conjecture that the entire import of Otsovism is boycott. And since these Comrades are not at present for the boycott of parliamentary institutions, they believe that they have nothing in common with Otsovism and that we accuse them without reason when we compare them with the Otsovisists. In reality, however, the matter is not so simple as all that. The boycott was actually one of the characteristic features of the Otsovist tendency but it by no means exhausted the intellectual content of this movement.

Russian Otsovism was born and flourished just in the years of the interval between the two revolutionary waves. In 1906 the revolutionary wave which had risen so high in 1905 finally collapsed. In 1911—1912 the new flood, which rose so swiftly after the Lena strike, began. Between 1907 and 1911 lies the period of the blackest reaction, of decay in the working-class, of the growth of the Menshevik (liquidating as we then expressed it) vagaries of betrayal, of partial defeats, etc. In this period Czarism and the bourgeoisie tried to destroy Bolshevism once for all. They gave the Mensheviks a certain monopoly of legality and persecuted the Bolsheviks in every possible way. They provoked us to premature conflicts in order to drown the Bolshevik movement in workers' blood and deprive it of all support in the working-class. There arose a rather complicated and fine co-ordination of forces among Stolypin, the liberal Russian bourgeoisie (Cadets), the Mensheviks and the Right Social Revolutionaries, with the design of depriving the Bolsheviks of their basis in the workers' mass-movement, of transforming them into an ossified sect, of compelling them to sink to the level of ineffectual, impotent shouters. It was our duty in this period to remain in close contact with the working masses cost what it might, and at the same time to remain true to our revolutionary flag. We had to learn how to enter without shouting, without too many phrases, into every legal and illegal working-class organization, even the most banal. We had to expose the treason of the Mensheviks at every opportunity. At the same time we did not confine ourselves to phrases but did the inconvenient, everyday work in the ranks, and worked in the parliamentary Duma fraction, in the legal and illegal trade-unions, in the co-operatives, the workers' clubs, the gymnastic and musical societies and in the illegal working-class press. The Otsovisists had many valuable workers, deeply devoted to the revolution, in their ranks.

Among the leaders of the Otsovisists there were many old party-workers intellectuals and Bolsheviks who later came back to us. But in the difficult, terrible years, in which the future fate of the Bolshevik party was actually decided, the extreme "left" Otsovisists did very serious injury to Bolshevism and in reality aided the Mensheviks. As a result of its revolutionary impatience, its rashness, its attempt to spur the party to a cup at a time when the masses were not yet ready for a struggle, its foolish boycott tendency, its revolutionary phrases, and its senseless theory, that the movement can be "activated" by trying to supplant the large working masses by a small party—as a result of all these characteristics Otsovism was in the above-mentioned period a great danger to the revolution. The Bolsheviks were compelled to carry on a long and very violent fight against the "left" Otsovist tendency, a struggle which led to a sharp split. After the Otsovisists had split away from the Bolsheviks, as a result of the logic of circumstances and of the logical consequences of their fundamentally incorrect position they came to a working agreement with the Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks. The nearer the coming of the revolutionary uprising, the more Otsovism withered, the more decidedly the best workers who had previously supported the Otsovisists re-entered our ranks, the ranks of the Bolsheviks. They realised that we had maintained our point against the left bombasts. They convinced themselves that only thanks to our tactics was contact with the masses maintained and our party preserved not a sect of "left" phrase-mongers, but the leader of the masses. The second Russian revolution actually began before the outbreak of the war in 1914. The war only hastened it. The power of the Bolshevik elite is based on the fact that the party maintained contact with the masses in the darkest period, a few years later led the entire working-class in the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie, and in October 1917 achieved victory.